1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

311 177 In the case of the Yaruros all of these factors have played an important role and are currently active in reducing their territories and food supply to a degree that will mean imminent extermination of the people. It is true that since the first settler arrived in their country the Yaruros could have made readjustments in their culture which perhaps might have permitted them to survive. They could have learned, for instance, to raise horses, cattle, and to cultivate the soil as the [178] Guajiros, living in a country similar to the llanos, have done. But they have chosen to remain firm in their own culture, own traditions, and own universe, and as a result are expecting to pay the penalty. Why they have failed to make the readjustment which would have brought them into a livable relationship with the newcomers and have persisted in keeping to their primitive, nomadic existence may be answered in the pages that follow.

361 Dependency on hunting, fishing, and gathering of edible fruits and roots imposes nomadism upon a people and prevents living together in large groups. The degree to which a people have to wander, the extent of the territory over which they must roam, and the size of the group, is dependent upon the abundance of the food supply in the region. The Yaruro hunting groups are small and they stay in one camp not more than a few days; so, they are to be met plying up and down the river in their canoes or traveling over land to the water holes, ever hunting for food.

HUNTING TERRITORIES

224 621 591 Each hunting group has a territory over which it is free to roam. Over this region only its members are allowed to hunt and gather fruits and roots, but the rivers, the main streams, are open to all. The accompanying map shows the limits of the present hunting territory [174] of the Yaruros of the Capanaparo. It would seem that anciently, when the Yaruros were more numerous, they roamed over a vaster region cut up into small portions over which hunting rights were distributed among various hunting family groups. I was assured that the Yaruros of the Sinaruco also have divided their country into family units.

619 101 There is also a sort of division among the Yaruros which transcends family grouping. The Yaruros of the Capanaparo, for instance, consider themselves a unit, though loosely bound, as distinct from the Yaruros of the Sinaruco, so that they consider the land drained by the Capanaparo as theirs and the region drained by the Sinaruco as the land of the Yaruros of that river. And yet, above all this, there seems to be a tribal feeling as opposed to the tribal divisions. The real significance of this is that among the Yaruros there is permitted a degree of mutuality in the use of the hunting rights

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

621 596 rarely is there need to enlist the services of persons outside the family group for it.

A typical hunting family will consist of the "old man," his wife, their unmarried sons, unmarried and married daughters, their sons-in-law, perhaps an unmarried brother or two, or without a father-in-law with whom to live, the parents-in-law unless they be dead, and the grandchildren, that is, the children of the daughters. To this nucleus there may be attached, temporarily, stragglers from other groups, old people and young children without relatives to take care of them, and visiting children of the man's sisters.

When two hunting groups meet very often they will camp together for a few days. If food is plentiful they may spend some of the time in merrymaking. Those bands which are in touch with the ranchers may gather together to perform a given piece of work for the meager pay that they may receive.

621 178 In actual practice it is almost impossible for a hunting group to consist of a theoretical family as described. This is especially true now that the Yaruros are disappearing so rapidly. The women may have a series of husbands, as if one dies, or is killed, and the men may have a series of wives. Any genealogical table, therefore, is very confused.

616 621 596 The group of El Burron consisted of the following: Two sisters who had been married to Fauste, a cross-cousin, but who was now dead; one of these women, Agapita, had two daughters, both of whom married. Isabel, one of these daughters, was dead at the time of my visit, but she had two children, a boy and a girl, who were still living. Her sister had married, lost her husband, but had four children, all living. The sister of the old woman, Agapita, had a boy and a girl, both of whom were living with the group. Fauste had a brother and a sister, now very old, and both living with the group. His brother had a daughter, Maria, who was also living with the group. On analysis we find, therefore, that, as the group existed at the time of my visit, there were twelve members of the Puaná moiety and three members of the Itciai moiety (fig. 23).

The other groups met show a greater confusion. So many individuals had died that there was no fixed form for any group. In some cases the groups would consist of several middle-aged men and women with wives and children and in other groups, such as Landaeta's and Pablo Reyes', they were led by old men—shamans. It is because of the breakdown of the social system under current conditions that the genealogies are not reproduced in this study at this time.

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606 604 This confusion affects the social relationships between various individuals. For instance, one Garcia was married to Landaeta's

2:Leeds E-5 (1958)1961 SS19 Yaruro SS19

YARURO INCIPIENT TROPICAL FOREST HORTICULTURE

Possibilities and Limits

Anthony LEEDS

The immediate concern of the papers in this symposium is the interaction between human populations and their habitats through the agency of horticulture insofar as factors in this interaction result in the evolution of culture. The present paper discusses an Incipient Tropical Forest Slash-and-Burn Horticultural group, the Yaruro of the south-central Venezuelan llanos, in order to show what kinds of upper limits were set upon its development by its technology and habitat, or both, and what sorts of factors within the relatively limiting conditions of incipient tropical forest horticulture might have provided a foundation for evolution to a more developed state. For any of the cultures which are examples of this class of horticulturalists, slash-and-burn horticulture plays a considerable, but usually not, by itself, a dominating role in the total food procurement process. The Yaruro fall between the Incipient and Intermediate Tropical Forest types discussed in the introduction, whereas the Sirionó, for example, represent a culture near the lower limits of cultures of the type. Despite their somewhat more advanced condition, what pertains to the Yaruro, in a general way applies to the rest of the type.

We shall consider first the habitat conditions in which the Yaruro find themselves and then describe the major dimensions of their swidden horticultural technology. With these aspects of the total ecology before us we shall show how its characteristics provide us a model for our incipient tropical forest stage and at the same time demonstrate how its special ecological conditions inhibited its further evolution into the more advanced stages of horticulture.

The Venezuelan llanos stretch as a low inland plain from the Orinoco delta, W by WSW, 750-800 miles inland, to the edges of the Andes in the far west of Apure State and into Eastern Colombia. The Yaruro are found between 450 and 600 miles from the mouth of the Orinoco, but still inside Venezuelan frontiers. They are found on all the rivers from the Arauca to the Cinaruco, inclusive, a distance of about 90 miles from north to south.

[probably should read: which--Analyst]